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368 Somewhere in the outskirts of the village are the public baths
[361] and the cemetery, a neglected field overgrown with weeds and
[764] decaying bamboo altars, with its temple of the Dead (c) and its mournful *kepuh* tree, a sad and eerie place. The bathing-place is generally a cool spot shaded by clusters of bamboo in the river that runs near the village, where all day long men and women bathe in the brown water in separate modest groups. Some villages have special bathing-places with fancy water-spouts and low walls of carved stone, with separate compartments for men and women. Tedjakula in North Bali is famous for its horse bath, a
[231] special compartment that is larger and even more elaborate than the baths for the people.

THE MARKET

366 Important towns have great utilitarian markets of cement and
443 galvanized tin where shrewd Arabs and Chinese keep regular shops of cloth and imported knick-knacks, but the average *desa* holds market under the shadow of the *waringin* or under square shades of straw mats like umbrellas. A few people sell there every
443 day; the " big " market takes place every third day of the religious calendar. There are " market associations " organized in groups of three *desas* that work together, holding market in rotation every day in each of the three villages. The women are the
[462] financiers that control the market; one seldom sees men in it, except in certain trades or to help carry such a load as a fat pig. Even the money-changers are women, who sit behind little tables
[436] filled with rolls of small change, *kepeng*, Chinese brass coins with a hole in the middle, worth a small fraction of a cent (about five to seven to a cent according to the current exchange). These coins are strung into rolls of two hundred, called *satak* (one string of twenty-five cents). Prices in the market vary according
435 to the buyer; they are lowest to the villager in his home town,
443 slightly higher for the Balinese of other villages, and considerably higher to foreigners. This is customary and understandable if one takes into consideration the communal spirit of the village

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and of the Balinese. It is significant that an average meal in the market costs a Balinese only twenty-five *kepeng* or about two or three American cents. The Balinese do not count in the present Dutch monetary system of guilders and cents; among themselves they use only the smallest unit, the *kepeng*, and the largest, the *ringgit*, big silver coins (worth two and a half guilders) that are normally divided into 1,200 *kepeng*. The Balinese cannot visualize a foreigner using *kepengs* and when I bought peanuts or a banana at a food-stand and they did not have Dutch pennies for change, the women vendors were amused to see me pocket a heavy string of *kepengs*. Accustomed to dealing in hundreds and thousands, they have acquired a surprising knowledge of mathematics, and the women can add, subtract, multiply, or divide with the speed of an adding machine. To test this ability we used to ask the women of our household for multiplications of numbers of several ciphers; with mysterious operations of a few *kepengs* spread on their laps, they always found a quick and accurate result.

The market reaches its height about noon, when it is hard to walk through the crowd of semi-nude women. At that time the animation is very great and the market resounds with the excited bargaining, the constant coming and going of people, and the squealing of the pigs that are mercilessly stuffed into baskets or carried in the arms of the women like babies. The thousand smells of coconut oil, flowers, spices, and dried fish combine to make the pungent smell so characteristic of Balinese markets. The soft browns and yellows of the women's skirts and the bright-coloured sashes they wear, the graceful movements and unconscious beauty of their poses, make of the market a show as interesting to watch as their luxurious and spectacular feasts. The excitement subsides gradually in the late afternoon, when the women return home loaded with the merchandise they have bought or with the empty baskets balanced on one corner, in the most absurd defiance of the laws of gravity, by the heavy strings of *kepengs* that record the day's sales. Most markets have a

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Most markets have a
443 little shrine for the goddess of fertility and of gardens, Dewi
[778] Melanting, also the deity of the market, to whom the vendors make small offerings for good luck.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

564 It was surprising to discover the extent to which the question of
576 rank obsesses so simple and democratic a people as the Balinese. In our house every time Gusti came near, everyone scrambled down the veranda steps to place themselves at a level lower than his. Once in Ubud we received a visit from two little girls, high-caste dancers of ten. They were to spend the night in the house, but they would not sleep unchaperoned and a servant was appointed to watch over them; when they heard he was to sleep in the attic, twenty feet up, they snatched their pillows and ran upstairs, not to be defiled a second longer by an inferior located above them. They perferred to sleep on a hard bench rather than in the bed made for them, while the poor servant had to sleep on the floor. Once we visited a high priest, who invited us to remain for lunch; when the food came he apologized for having to ask us to sit down, because, he said, " the gods would not like it " if he, a Brahmana, placed himself at a level lower than ours. We observed similar situations over and over again among people of all classes.

Five centuries of feudal domination by an aristocracy have made the Balinese so conscious of caste, the determination of a man's place in society by his birth, that the whole of their social life and etiquette is moulded by this institution. A member of the aristocracy is constantly on the look-out so that his inferiors may keep to their appointed level and address him in the language of respect. Princes still demand the adulation and kowtowing of their former vassals, although now their power has ended and their prestige is greatly diminished. Caste rules today are largely restricted to the observance of established formulas of etiquette even among the princes, who were always fairly liberal. Caste
[171] relations are relaxed and simple compared with the absurd intoler-
ance of India.

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434 were always busy in the ricefields, but rice cannot be considered
511 an important source of cash income. The Balinese grow rice for
[243] personal consumption and for offerings, selling only what is left over from the second planting, which they regard as unfit for offerings to the gods.

434 Their main source of income is in the sale of cattle and pigs,
443 and of coconuts for making copra; a second source is from coffee,
463 rice, and tobacco which they sell for export to Chinese middlemen. The trades and crafts are incidental sources of income and in the markets one may see people selling pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth, together with the vendors of vegetables, dried fish, spices, and flowers. Some craftsmen, such as the gold- and silverworkers, the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers of palm, and pottery-makers, have regular incomes, but they remain independent artisans. The Balinese men work for wages only spasmodically and as an adventure. In the larger towns they engage as
[461] chauffeurs, clerks, and servants — positions which are regarded as superior. With the affluence of tourists, some now derive an income from the sale of sculptures, paintings, silverwork, weavings, and so forth.

Ruled by the principle of live and let live, landowners allow
465 others without land to share their crop in exchange for help. There are, however, organizations of labourers (*seka medjukut*) who work the earth for a communal wage. They are paid by time recorded by water-clocks (*gandji*) similar to those used in cock-
[405] fights: a half coconut-shell with a small hole in the bottom, placed in a basin of water, the time it takes to sink being the measure. The fees are arranged by the head of the group.

At the present time, however, the economic balance has, tem-
178 porarily at least, ceased to exist. With taxes and imported com-
511 modities on the increase, and the price of Balinese products for export at rock-bottom levels, the whole population has come to find itself in need of cash, not in *kepengs* (Chinese cash valued at a fraction of a cent with which they buy the daily necessities), but in Dutch guilders worth from five hundred to

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on our return to Bali three years later, the Balinese sculptors were turning out mass-production "objets d'art" for tourists. Even before arriving in Bali for the second time, we found the curio-shops of Macassar and Java filled with statuettes of a decidedly commercial style which was totally new to us. Before this we had made acquaintance with Gusti Ngurah Gedé, an old man of Pemetjutan rated among the best sculptors of South Bali. Although Gusti Gedé was so old that he talked with difficulty,

Relief in the Temple of Kubutambahan

he could carve the most delicate motifs in hard wood with a precision and sureness envied by the younger sculptors. He had started to make realistic little statues of nude girls, bathing, combing their hair, or in the process of undressing, masterfully carved out of a fine-grained white wood, figures that found ready sale among travellers. This was perhaps the beginning of a new art in which the sculptor began working for a new public: tourists who had little appreciation of the technical perfection demanded by the Balinese, or foreign artists who preferred line and form to intricate ornamentation.

This necessarily introduced the mercenary element into Balinese art, until then non-existent; prices were boosted and the sculptor suddenly became aware that there was a good income in making statues. On the other hand, this same condition gave

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532 the art a new impulse, and sculptors sprang up like mushrooms.
422 Soon every important artistic centre, such as Den Pasar, Mas,
439 Batuan, Pliatan, and Ubud, was turning out quantities of carv-
443 ings in new styles, mediocre heads of *djanger* dancers snatched up by round-the-world tourists, stereotyped slim figures from Mas exported to Java and Holland; while the splendid sculptors from Badung and Batuan carved coconut shells from Bangli and so forth.

322 Gusti Gedé was also the master of a school of sculptors and
532 every morning boys from the town went to his house to re-
874 ceive lessons and to assist him. Some of his pupils were already fine carvers and could turn out statues almost as finished as those of the master. In his school we had the opportunity to observe the technique of wood-carving, which is considerably more refined and requires greater skill than the carvings in *parás* stone.
[824] Hard woods such as teak (*djatí*), jackfruit (*nangka*), and the compact *sawo*, a beautiful dark red wood, are invariably used and the sculptor must have a sure hand, trained by the experience of years, and a good knowledge of the art of cutting into the grain of the wood. He uses every conceivable form of knives,
[413] chisels, and gouges: round, straight, slanting, V-shaped, and so forth, some of which are intended for exceptionally deep carving. A complete set of tools consists of some thirty instruments and a wooden mallet. The carving technique consists in chipping bits of wood gradually with the highly sharpened instruments, not by hand pressure, as among us, but with light taps of the mallet, obtaining in this manner delicacy of touch and greater control over the material. If the statue is not to be painted or gilded, it is made smooth with pumice and given a high polish by rubbing it with bamboo.

532 *Painting:* Unlike the arts of the theatre, music, and sculpture, painting was little in evidence as a living art on our first visit to Bali. Outside of painting artifacts of daily use and scant decorations for temples, the Balinese made only paintings of two

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for success in any undertaking unless it is performed on the exact auspicious day set aside on the calendar for the purpose; a wedding, a tooth-filing, a cremation, the occupation of a new house, take place only during special weeks dedicated to the affairs of human beings, while there are other similar weeks and days for activities concerning cattle, fowl, fish, trees, and bamboo (consecutive periods of seven days called *ingkel: wong, sato, mina, manuk, taru,* and *buku*).

The Balinese use two simultaneous systems of time-calculation: one, the *saka*,[1] the Hindu solar-lunar year, similar to ours in duration, twelve months, "moons," by which they observe the full (*purnama*) and the "dark" or new moons (*tilem*) important for agriculture, for *nyepí*, and for the festivals of the mountain people. The other, the *wuku* year, the so-called native or Javanese-Balinese year of 210 days, is not officially divided into months, but into weeks, ten of them running parallel and simultaneously, from a week of one day in which every day is called *luang*, a week of two days, one of three, of four, five, and so forth, up to a week of ten days. Each day of each of the ten weeks receives a special name, the combination of names determining the character of a date as a lucky or unlucky day. Thus every day theoretically receives ten different names, plus the month of the *saka* year and the "age" of the moon, according to whether it is crescent or waning; for instance, Sunday, the 4th of November of 1934, the beginning of the *wuku* year, was, according to them: *saka* year 1856, *wuku* of *sinta, ingkel wong* (good for humans), *redité, paing, paseh, tungleh, srí, srí, danggu* – only one endowed with the *saktí* and the knowledge of a high priest could keep track of such a tangle of names. Ordinary Balinese reckon simple dates, auspicious days for making offerings and for the principal feasts, by the combination of day-names of the seven- and five-day weeks, by which names every-day dates are recorded. The common people also observe the week of three days by which the village market day is established,

[1] For further information on the Balinese calendar, see Note 5, page 313.

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held in rotation every day in one of the villages that work in groups of three.

Other date names are used mainly for magic and religious purposes, making of the calendar a science so complicated in itself that it is practised mainly by specialists, generally the Brahmanic priests and witch-doctors, who, by the ownership of intricate charts (*tika*) with secret symbols painted on paper or carved in wood, and of palm-leaf manuscripts (*wariga*) by which the lucky or unlucky dates are located, make the people dependent on them for this purpose, because the Balinese are obliged to consult them for good dates for every special undertaking and have to pay for the consultation.

Galunggan. *Nyepí* is the acknowledged New Year feast of the solar-lunar year, but the Balinese celebrate another "new year" in the great holiday of *galunggan*, when the ancestral spirits come down to earth to dwell again in the homes of their descendants. The ancestors supposedly arrive five days before the day of *galunggan*, receive many offerings, and go back to heaven after ten days, five days before *kuninggan*, the feast of all souls.

Every home and all implements were provided with offerings for *galunggan*, the old utensils renewed and the baskets washed. On all the roads, at the gate of every home, tall *penyors* were erected, meant perhaps to be seen from the summits of the mountains where the gods dwell, together with a little bamboo altar from which hung a *lamak*, one of those beautiful mosaics on long strips of palm-leaf. For this occasion the *lamaks* were over thirty feet long and had to hang from the tops of the coconut trees.

Everybody wore new clothes and the whole of Bali went out for a great national picnic. Everywhere there were women with offerings on their heads and many old men dressed for the occasion in old-fashioned style, gold kris and all, although with an incongruous imported undershirt. The younger generation preferred to tear all over the island in open motor-cars, packed like

[Text continues on page 286]

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516
443

[415]

The old and the young sell their wares side by side
At noon the market is at its height

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482
291
203
443

Exchanging news in the market at Den Pasar

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

for a walk (*betara melantjaran*), are not there to receive them. They say that to bring gifts on this day is not actually prohibited, but not customary (*ten biasa*). In a case of necessity, as for instance if a woman had been unclean (*sebel*) following the death of a relative for a period ending only the day after the *odalan*, and expected to be again unclean, because menstruating, on the next day, she might bring her offering on this day — but only in the evening, when the gods are supposed to have returned from their promenade.

p. m. Cockfight (*Metadjèn*): In the afternoon another cockfight was held. The weather was fine, and the occasion a particularly gay one. More than thirty vendors had brought their little tables of refreshments and set them on the outskirts of the crowd. Inside the temple only the old priest and his wife were on guard. A few children played about among the shrines, and some little boys took this opportunity — while the regular players were absent — of banging away upon the instruments of the orchestra.

9:00 p. m. Refreshments and dancing (*Méndèt*): At nine o'clock the dancers of the *méndèt* knelt to make their reverence and to receive holy water. The orchestra played, and they began their series of dance-figures, this time spreading out the offering to the gods in the different shrines to the fullest possible extent. All the lesser gods whose offerings had been grouped together on the night of the *odalan* (see page 53) this time were honored individually, each with one of the dances in the series. They danced twenty *taboeh*, not forgetting even the two little shrines on either side of the gate (*Pengapit Lawang*) and the shrines of Melanting and Gelogor out in the fields on the outskirts of the temple. For these outlying shrines the dancing was done before the temple, and essence of the offerings wafted to them from there (*njawang* — to offer from a distance).

12:00 m. The dancing lasted three hours. At midnight it was finished. Then everyone went home, leaving the priest and the picked watchmen to guard the temple.

Third day (Njimpen)

a. m. Awakening; dressing the gods; fresh offerings (*Tetangi*; *ngiasin betara*; *penganjaran*): Early in the morning, after the usual first ceremonies, the *pengajah* were all called to the temple again, for the offerings to be prepared this day were greater. The fine for non-attendance was ten *képèngs*. The *petadjoeh* was very busy making up his accounts, checking off in the squares marked on his palm leaves for each household whatever was still short in their contributions. This was their last chance to bring their contributions up to the required amount. If they did not bring them today, the value of the lacking supplies would be reckoned in money, and they would be fined double (*nikel*) the amount. All the

Toradja OG11
New Guinea OJ1

Aru OH5
Java OE1
Bali OF7
Minangkabau OD18
Borneo OC1

A 228 [636] [388 cont.] but the inhabitants have the right to fish for pearls in all places that do not lie more than nine meters deep at low water. This right is a consequence of the right of disposal, which can extend even beyond the land boundaries.

I J 228 With the exception of some dèsa on the Segara Anakan (Banjoemas Residency), on Pampang Bay (Besoeki Residency), and a single dèsa on the southern coast of Java, pearl fishing is of little or no significance any longer in the archipelago. Pearl fishing in the dèsa of the Segara Anakan dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century, but by the end of that century it was far outstripped in importance by the fishing in the immediate neighborhood of Batavia, where the pearl divers formed a special guild.

M Ba J I 438 ● 443 [389] Trade. Trade plays only a very minor role as a means of livelihood among the native population if we consider only those who engage in it as their sole or chief means of support. In general, the situation is the same among the more highly developed peoples, such as the Javanese, the Balinese, and the Minangkabau. Retail trade, however, which is chiefly conducted by women, is important among these peoples and is always and everywhere connected with agriculture. Such trade can be of great volume only where the society is sufficiently differentiated to give rise to a variety of needs and a division of labor to satisfy them. Among peoples such as the Toradja and Dajak [Dyak], especially the former, where a kind of communism exists within the tribe [stam, "tribe" or "clan"] or the tribal members' village, the needs of the tribal members are so alike and generally anyone can so adequately satisfy his own needs that there is scarcely any trade within the tribe. There is, however, a certain amount of trade between the various tribes. The Dajak frequently undertake long trading expeditions to buy old beads from other tribes who value them less than they do. Even so, there is no particular class of traders. Such trade relations exist also among more primitive tribes than those just mentioned. For instance, the dwarf tribes of central New Guinea trade with the inhabitants

Bo T 438 Bo 439 N 439